

The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF ALBION.

Dorchester Gaol, August 10, year 4, of
CITIZENS, the thrice glorious Revolution of Spain.
WHAT is passing in Spain is matter of very great import, but we must have patience and wait to see the results unfold themselves. We have not enough of regular intelligence; nor enough of the truth to calculate upon immediate effects. I have been looking forward to this month of August, as a critical month, for the invaders, which will decide the question for them, whether any of them shall return to France alive.

Bear in mind that, even before the invasion took place, the leading men among the Spaniards said, that, their operations would not even commence until September: so that, we must not feel disappointment this side of Christmas, so long as we hear of resistance going on. The Spaniards are a people upon whom you cannot calculate; and this entirely from the worthlessness of the aristocracy among them: and the power of the Priests over them.

The invasion will do great good. It must lessen the power of the Priests: for these are the times in which the character of Priestcraft is more conspicuously displayed: and whatever power the priests lose, will be gain to the Spanish people. The invasion, in this respect, may be worth a seven years moral legislation.

There is an admirable resistance kept up in Catalonia, by Mina and his heroic companions; but of precise facts we have none: therefore, statements had better be delayed. There has been resistance before Corunna, which I look upon as wholly owing to the presence of Sir Robert Wilson and a few volunteers from this and other countries: but a continued resistance in that part of Spain seems doubtful. There is resistance at Cadiz, which seems now to be the

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point for decision as to the results. All the Fortresses hold out admirably well and make gallant sorties.

Sir Robert Wilson ought to have five thousand men from this country, on whom he could rely at moments of emergency and for enterprise: and I am surprised that there is no encouragement, no inducement, no offer of conveyance to those who are ready and willing to go and join him. The men whom he wants, are men that cannot pay for their conveyance, and thousands of such men are ready, if *conveyance only* can be provided for them. They will get to the coasts at their own expence; and they have a right to look for shipping and food after that, from those who are professing to manage the interests of the Spaniards in this country. We see an almost daily call for men in the correspondences which come from Spain, and here are men ready to start and no point as a guide for them! Blows have actually commenced between the Despots and the People of Europe; and the People must carry it on by other means than ink and paper. Ink and paper are good auxiliary materials of war: but not quite sufficient, as a resistance to sabres, lances, bayonets, musket and cannon balls and mortar shells: which the despots will use in preference to ink and paper.

RICHARD CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, IN THE CHRISTIAN'S DUNGEON,
DORCHESTER,

IMPRISONED IN THE 19TH CENTURY FOR MATTERS OF OPINION.

SIR, London, July 29, 1823.
HAVING troubled your readers with some of my ideas upon the notions entertained of a *designing* power being employed in the manufacture or formation of matter, in answer to part of the opinions of I. G., as published in your Republican, June 13, No. 24, Vol. 7. I proceed to perform my promise, of doing the same, as it respects the notion that I. G. entertains, that the motions of the planets, required the assistance of the same supposed *designing* power, to set them going, which he imagines, formed a tortoise, hare, and elephant, and gave to them, the properties he described.

I am fully aware, that the nature of my reasoning, is totally at variance with the doctrines, held by all religious people, of these

countries of Europe, and I believe of the world, be their denomination what they may, as well as of Deists; but with Mr. Owen, the social economist (in his letter to the Editor of the Limerick Chronicle, January 27, 1823) who is prepared to build up systems and principles before he begins to pull down either, I may say, "I feel the time is arrived for the developement of *my* views respecting religion"—and I can add, that I feel that the time is also arrived when every person ought to expose the errors of mankind, and, if possible, by fair discussion, to overcome their prejudices; "for (to use his words, as they appear in his *New View of Society*, fourth edition, page 15) the extraordinary events of the present times have essentially contributed to prepare the way.

"Even the late ruler of France, although *immediately* influenced by the most mistaken principles of ambition, contributed to this happy result, by shaking to its foundation, that mass of *superstition* and *bigotry*, which had been accumulating for ages, until it had so far overpowered and depressed the human intellect, that to *attempt* improvement without its *removal*, would have been *most unavailing*," being supported by such authority, as well as by my own love of truth, I freely avow my opinion, that I doubt whether there is any supernatural or preternatural almighty creating designing power; and this avowal I make without intending to offend any one, but without fear of whom it may offend; knowing it could not offend such power if it existed.

In my first letter upon this subject which appeared in your Republican, No. 2, Vol. 8, July 18, I requested your readers to pay attention to seemingly unimportant monosyllables, I beg to repeat the request as it respects the little word *is* used by I. G. in the following sentence: "The planets Jupiter and Saturn, are furnished with a number of satellites, or moons, the *design* of which, it cannot be doubted, *is* to furnish those planets with an additional quantity of light."

I. G. and your readers will have the goodness to bear in mind, that it is the subject of *design* being required and employed by a superhuman, almighty, *intelligent* being, in the productions of organized matter that is debated, therefore, though I am willing to admit, that the satellites, or moons, of Jupiter and Saturn, do give to those planets additional light, I do doubt whether their having a number of moons, proceeded from *design*, and I entertain this doubt from the following reasons: First, that no supernatural superhuman being, has manifested itself to my senses, or to my reason. Secondly, knowing from the very limited observations, which mankind are capable of making, upon the combined operations of the elements, compared with the stupendous and multitudinous effects, which are produced throughout the whole universe of space; knowing that even upon this little terrestrial globe, (small compared to others) that mighty effects are produced, without mankind being able to understand the causes;

and that some of the *minor* operations of nature, no less curious, and perhaps operated upon by the same unknown *natural* properties, which produce the most profound effects; I say, that being unable to account for many of the minor and most simple operations of nature, which are within the compass of observation and tactility, and which it would be trifling and preposterous to suppose proceeded from the interposition of an almighty *designing* power, knowing that many of the most mighty as well as the most trivial *natural* results take place from the operations of the elements, without mankind being able at present to understand the causes: I have a right to infer that some *natural* process or processes, which they cannot at present comprehend, (and which it is possible they never may comprehend) by the adapting con-natural and co-operative properties of elementary matter, for the necessary succour of Jupiter and Saturn, or for the accommodation of various portions of matter on their surfaces, has produced several attendant satellites, or moons, as auxiliary lights, without which, the operations of elementary nature, would probably either be imperfect, or could not be carried on, or without which the whole process of the combined motions of the planetary system, might have been deranged; until the elements, by their adapting properties, of preserving and of restoring order, had produced new combinations, suitable to keep the great family of nature in co-operative and vigorous harmony; therefore, I have a right to conclude, that the combined laws of those powers which the Mathematician calls gravitation, attraction, and repulsion, acting with a variety of other processes of matter, by the invincible laws of necessity, produced several moons to those planets, without the aid of a supernatural, or preternatural, or any kind of *designing* power; while our own globe, by the same laws of nature and all-prevailing necessity, required only one moon*.

Upon the principles of science and upon several of the operations and properties of nature, I. G. and myself appear agreed; we differ only as to the extent of the powers, causes, or properties of nature in producing certain effects; he stops short in his reasoning, assigning what he at present does not comprehend (like the visionaries and poor benighted Indians, or from the force of preconceived opinions) to a supposed *intelligent, designing, almighty power*; I, on the contrary, striving to embrace the whole compass of nature, endeavour to reason to the end of elementary properties, processes, and power.

* Note by R. Carlile. A more complete answer to the assumption, that Jupiter and Saturn are by *design* furnished with satellites or a number of moons to make up for the deficiency of light which the distance from the sun occasions, is this:—that the deficiency of light occasioned by distance affects the satellites as well as the planet, and, that no number of satellites could add to the amount of light which the distance occasions. This I take to be answer sufficient on this head.

He seems not to allow, that there are in elementary matter, inherent properties to adapt it to *all* the motions and changes it undergoes; in the support of my opinions on the contrary, reasoning from small things to great, knowing from observation and experience, that nature in several of her operations on our globe, produces great effects from seemingly trivial and simple causes; some of which we can, and others we cannot, trace to their commencement, or origin; I conclude, that (what at least appears to the present limited faculties of mankind) the greater and more stupendous operations of nature; in the ponderous and rapid motions of matter, "the order and harmony with which the planets move round the sun, in their respective orbits"—also proceed from some of the properties and processes of the elements, with which mankind are yet unacquainted.

I. G. accompanies nature as far as he understands her powers and operations; but following the example of the visionaries, idolators, and illiterate of all nations; when these become too great for the compass of human genius to comprehend, or contrary to preconceived opinions; like an undutiful child he seems reluctant to confide in the parent that gave him birth, and that constantly succours him with her bounteous productions, that constantly sustains him, by her elements; and assigns to an undefineable, unnatural, or preternatural power, "the order and harmony" with which she carries on the concerns of her great and all glorious family.

I, on the contrary, grateful for the blessings, she unsparingly dispenses to her children, and from having become acquainted with some of her minor operations, the simplicity of which strikes me with admiration; judging by her power of preserving order and harmony in these, I am willing to believe, and do believe, that she is equally capable of carrying on *all* the sublime processes of matter, which with wonderful harmony pervades the magnificent universe of lustrous worlds, that wind their trackless course for millions upon millions of miles, silently through the illimitably extended, azure-tinted, etherial expanse of boundless space.

To elucidate my opinions, I beg to observe, that it was long known, that an electric fluid floating in the atmosphere, was the cause of lightning, but until the immortal Franklin, raised his simple conductors, it was not known, or not so clearly understood, that the earth was a safe and harmless recipient: although had the electric fluid, attracted by his metallic or iron rods, struck another portion of matter, a tree for instance, its destruction, or the destruction of some of its component parts, would have followed; or had it struck the immortal philosopher, during his adventurous experiment, death must have ensued.

In like manner it was long known, that the electric fluid was an inherent property of matter; but it was not so well understood

until the discovery of the electrical machine, that though its sudden introduction from the atmosphere without a metallic or other conductor into the animal frame, destroys its organic structure, or morbidifies the parts it strikes, that it was also necessary to the support of animal life, that it was an inherent part in the composition of man, necessary to the operation of his mind, without which indeed, he could have no mind, as may be known from the obstruction of it in, or abstraction of it from, the frame, or part of the frame, the brainous matter, in paralytic people; from which men of science rationally conclude, that the nerves or brainous fluid, is the conductor of the electric fluid residing in the human frame, and from which they proceed to account for the instantaneous communications of knowledge from the sensorium or seat of knowledge, the *cerebrum* and *cerebellum*, to other parts of the human frame, and by which for instance they get to know, that the hand obeys the will, in communicating the thoughts of the mind upon paper from one friend to another; that the tongue utters the intentions of the mind, and that the eyes and contour of the face express the feelings of the heart; thus then we find, that the electric fluid (which probably permeates space with greater velocity than light, which by astronomical computation travels at least one hundred and forty thousand miles in a moment), I say thus we find, that the electric fluid as a property of nature, operates with other properties contained in the structure of man, in producing mind, without divine interposition.

It was long believed, that the clouds were the recipients of the vapours of the earth carried into the atmosphere; until Lunardi and others, ascended in balloons beyond them, it was *only believed* so, the bold and adventurous aeronauts by actual observation reduced it to a certainty; they established the correctness of former belief, by the reality of the fact. Harper, the son-in-law of Sadler, told me, that the larger clouds, after having passed them, appeared translucent pools of water, and from the rays of light exhibited all the colours of the rainbow, more brilliant than any thing he had ever beheld.

If then mankind have arrived by *observation* and science, to the discovery of some of the minor operations and effects of elementary matter upon other specific portions of matter, which are within the scope of their limited powers to discern, and to account for; it is consonant with the principles of science, to conclude, that the more stupendous movements of the planets, are also dependant upon, and regulated by, the same or some other properties and processes of matter; equally simple in causation or origin; but with which mankind have not yet become acquainted—much might be added by way of exemplification, and I could add much to exemplify my position, that nature, or elementary matter, is the *primum mobile*, *magnum principium* of all things; but this would be to extend my letters on the subject to a treatise, and to

trespass too long upon your pages and the patience of your readers—what I have said, and what I shall say in this, and at most one more, letter, will I trust be sufficiently conclusive, in shewing to I. G. and your enlightened readers, the fallacy of attributing to design, effects which reside in, and proceed from, the operations of the elements.

Contrary to I. G. who declares, that the movements of the planets in their orbits round the sun, appears to him to be a more striking proof of *design* than any other thing: from seeming to comprehend the principles of the planetary motions more clearly than I can comprehend the existence of an organized being, possessing the properties of intelligent design, coupled with a power equal to the design of propelling mighty and ponderous planets, in their orbits through their wondrous rapid course around the sun; I confess, that the motions of the planets appear to me a // more conclusive proof than any other operations of nature, not only that no such *designing* power does exist, but that none was required to set them in motion; in other words, I can much more readily imagine, that the processes of elementary matter, are equal to the force required to propel the planets forward, and that each planet contains within itself the principles of motion; (but not of a propelling motion) than I can imagine the existence of a supernatural or preternatural, immaterial or material being, possessing the properties of *design* or will, with power equal to the will of moving or setting in motion, and of keeping in prescribed courses, to endless time, the planetary system; seeing that such power, unaided by other powers to effect such purposes, must of itself be *almighty*, which in several respects *no individual power can be*; all cogent necessity prescribes the limits and power of all things; it preserves all things, or limits the duration of all things; it is a law of elementary nature, which the elements must obey; therefore nature cannot annihilate herself, although the processes of the elements are constantly producing mutations, transmutations, and transformations of their component parts: even the God, the idol of visionary minds, with all the attributes assigned to it cannot do all things. “He cannot commit suicide, even if he would wish to die, neither can God render human beings eternal, nor call the dead into existence, nor make those who lived heretofore not to have lived; nor those who have borne honours in their day not to have borne them; he has no power over the past, except that of oblivion; and (if they will allow us to joke while discoursing about God) he cannot prevent twice ten being twenty, and many other things of the same kind; by which it is proved, without doubt, that what we call God is the *power of nature*.”

—PLINY.

“All things are effected by the power of God, yet it is because the power of nature is no other than the power of God, we are moreover unable to comprehend the power of God, as far as we

are ignorant of *natural* causes; therefore the power of God, is foolishly referred to, when we are ignorant of the natural cause of any thing; or, which is the same thing, with the power of God."—SPINOSA.

// Beside how extremely inconsistent the visionaries are, who while they attribute all that is wise, good, consistent, and perfect to a divine being, and blame men for not believing in his power, and for doubting his existence; do not see the weakness of their own conduct; in as much as if so wise, good, perfect, and consistent a being did or does exist, and it was necessary or useful for mankind to believe so; is it or can it be consistent with his wisdom, goodness, and perfection, not to instruct every human being not only that he does exist, but also what it is necessary and useful for to know, and what is his will that he should know, without the interposition of men as ignorant, and as weak, and also as prone to vice as themselves; as the crimes of the clergy and priests in all ages have shewn them to be.

// I can imagine, and my imagination is supported by science and by a knowledge of several of the operations of nature; which I. G.'s cannot be, by any of the supposed properties of a supposed almighty *designing* power, because those supposed properties have never been brought to the test of observation and experience; I say, that I can imagine that nature in the operations of matter is equal to produce all the effects which I. G. supposes to proceed from *design*; upon the principle, that of two problems, it is right to argue upon the most simple and least difficult of comprehension, and upon the true principles of philosophy, that it is right to reason *probatum est*, (from things proved) therefore from mankind having learnt that many things they behold have proceeded and do proceed from the operations of elementary matter, and that by its properties they acquire motion, I have a right to believe, that as no designing almighty power has been *proved* to exist, I have a right to doubt whether any does exist.

I come now to consider the argument used by I. G. that it requires the action of a two-fold force, to cause a body to move in a curve; I go with him as far as he goes, in the principle he applies to the falling of a stone, as well as in his argument of the projectile force, which as applied to the planets I shall denominate the propelling or repulsive force; but in my application of the argument made use of, I differ widely from I. G. I go one step farther; I. G. in accounting for the projectile or propelling force, required to move the planets round the sun; because, as it is "wholly out of man's power" to hurl them through space, I. G. comes in my opinion, to the erroneous "conclusion, that it must have been the effect of an almighty *designing* power;" I get over the difficulty, according to my view of the subject, in a more rational and scientific way, than in ascribing their motions round the sun, to a supernatural or preternatural power, supposed, by the

opposers of Materialism, to be greater than the power which resides in the conjoint and co-operating elements of nature.

I. G. has very properly said, that "the planets (like all other bodies) mutually attract each other;" and, that if they were acted upon by the power of attraction or one force only, they would, like all other bodies move in straight lines, and he has also properly said, that as they move in circles round the sun, therefore they must have *received* (I say they must *receive*) a projectile or mechanical (propelling) force also, which force instead of ascribing to "the effect of an almighty *designing* power." I ascribe to the power of REPULSION, which I. G. has totally omitted or forgot to apply in his description of the different motions of a falling stone, and of the circular motion of the planets; but as it is equally well known to men of science, that there is a power of repulsion as well as attraction*. I avail myself of this power, as well as of the centrifugal force, (which I. G. also omits to notice) in accounting for the motions of the planets, in circles round the sun, without the necessity of their having received from a *designing* almighty power, a projectile or mechanical force; but unlike I. G. who seems to suppose that the planets, at some period of time *received* but one solitary or single, primary, horizontal, projectile impulse or force, similar to a stone thrown from the hand of a man; I consider that the propelling force of repulsion and centrifugal force, have been eternal, or coeval with matter, and are as uniform and constant in their operations, as are the centripetal force, and force of attraction; otherwise an oscillatory or rather a saltatory motion would take place and disorder would follow.

I also consider, that the repulsive force must propel the planets horizontally forward, and that the constant tendency which the force of attraction has of drawing them nearer to the attracting body, give to them that curved motion, which I. G. notices in the falling of a stone projected in an horizontal direction, though in the case of the stone the two acting principles are only the repellent power and principle of gravitation. To familiarize the motion of the planets in circles round the sun, and to demonstrate the principles of repulsion and attraction, in producing a curved motion; let any person take a stick, rod, or small pole, with a line fastened at one end, to be held by another person, then let the one holding the stick or pole, push it gently and steadily forward, while the other holding the line, pull it gently and with *equal* force in an *acute* angle towards him, as the pole proceeds from the pro-

* *Note by R. Carlile.* I am of opinion, that Sir Richard Phillips has fairly refuted the whole of the old doctrines about gravitation, attraction, repulsion—centrifugal and centripetal forces, and about an electric fluid *sui generis*. His theory is in many parts more clear to me than any thing I have read elsewhere; though I am sorry to see, that he can descend to worship Baal; and, for profit, feed the prejudices as well as the reason of mankind.

pulling hand of him that holds it, and is drawn by the attracting hand of him that holds the line, the operators will have an ocular demonstration, of the curved or circular motion, in which the planets move round the sun: but the liveliness which the planets acquire from their centripetal and centrifugal forces, greatly accelerates their motions and greatly decreases the repulsive and attracting powers required to send them on their journeys, and to give them their circular inclination to the propelling power; as may be known from the difficulty of putting in motion a heavy body, and the facility of directing it after being put in motion.

Could it be imagined, that the sun in revolving upon its axis, was less or more attracting or repulsive in some parts, than in others; then the motions of the planets would not pass in uniform or unimpeded circles round the sun; but would sweep along their orbits in jerking, saltatory, or dancing motions: or if the planets themselves possessed in particular parts, any immensely great properties, either minor or major, of attraction and repulsion, so as to resist or to yield, more particularly at their periheliums, to the same properties of attraction and repulsion in the sun, the same vibratory motion must ensue.

I proceed now to notice that part of I. G.'s letter wherein he declares that he has "swept from his mind all idea of a God, at all resembling the whimsical, arbitrary, and cruel God represented in the Jew Books"—so far well, inasmuch as it rids him of superstition, that great enemy of science, liberality and free discussion: but still he says, in opposition to you Mr. Carlile, he does not think that "any combination of matter could ever produce an original man, without the aid of such a *designing* power;" and proceeds to say, that when you, Sir, mentioned the *spontaneous productions of insects by putrid animal matter*, he, I. G. thinks that went beyond the limits which in a subsequent part of your letter you had prescribed to yourself: "to admit nothing that cannot be proved, and to admit nothing which we cannot comprehend" for, Sir, (says I. G.) at present my opinion is that all the insects you speak of, have their parents in a similar manner, to the larger animals; and that you cannot prove to the contrary; although I by no means intend to doubt the depth of your own researches into the prolific properties and operations of nature, I am free to confess to I. G. that Materialists have *hitherto* failed to prove the fact, that creation, or the *spontaneous* production, of the larger animals, is an inherent property of elementary matter. I acknowledge that I, once, was of an opinion with him that even the most minute insect, had a parent insect, at least they had so for many ages, (during the ages of horror, of wind, and storm, and flood, of which Mr. Mackay speaks in his "Theory of Time,") I was inclined to believe that putrid animal matter, did not spontaneously generate any kind, either of animalcule or insects, but that it was only the receptacle upon which parent insects deposit-

ed their eggs, or spawn, to be hatched in the filth of animal corruption, as political crimes are produced in the moral corruptions of cabinets, and hot-beds of courts, from the evil sordid, ambitious, and despotic passions, and propensities of kings, nobles, and ministers.

I think from observation and study that I have improved my judgment with respect to the formation or production of animal matter; the science of the production of life is in my opinion but in its infancy; the progress of the human mind has been checked by the influence of religion, which teaches, that all things in nature proceeded from an almighty *designing* creative power; and men have feared to dispute the hypothesis; or have been deterred from publishing any opinions controverting it;—but supported now by the working and useful people, and protected by them from the bodily torture of the rack, the wheel, and the faggot, men of science, by the example of courageous minds, will multiply their efforts, in the discovery of truth, and in the promulgation of the result of their observations and experience, and we shall begin to progress rapidly in knowledge.

Dr. Darwin endeavours to account for the origin of animal life by the spontaneous production of animalcular insects, speculates deeply upon the subject, and gives to the world, the result of many experiments, of strict observation, and the experience of other men of science; and supposes, that all animals, were originally aquatic, and acquired by degrees, organs suitable to a new element.—

“Nurs’d by warm sun-beams, in primeval caves,
Organic life began, beneath the waves,
First HEAT, from chemic dissolution springs,
And gives to matter its eccentric wings,

* * * * *
Hence *without parent*, by *spontaneous* birth,
Rise the first specks, of animated earth;
From *nature’s womb*, the plant or insect swims,
And buds, or breathes, with microscopic limbs.
In earth, sea, air, around, below, above,
Life’s subtle woof, in *nature’s loom* is wove.

ORGANIC LIFE, beneath the shoreless waves,
Was born, and nurs’d, in ocean’s pearly caves,
First forms minute unseen by spheric glass,
Move on the mud, or pierce the watery mass;
These, as successive generations bloom,
New powers acquire, and larger limbs assume,
Whence countless groups, of vegetation spring,
And breathing realms, of fin, and feet, and wing.”

Although Doctor Darwin was a close observer of nature, a man of great scientific acquirements, a great moral philosopher and a liberal minded man; having from his professional pursuits to

move in the wealthy circles, who always wish to keep the "*dull rabble in awe*," seems to have been himself kept in awe of the titled and wealthy aristocracy; from whom he derived his own sources of wealth; and for fear of their censures, appears to have cramped his own genius, out of respect to *THEIR ignorance, prejudice, and superstition*; for though he unequivocally admits of the *spontaneous* production, and vitality of microscopic animals, and from them or other spontaneous animal productions, of larger animals; he flounders about the holy writ, saying that God created animals and vegetables,—which as he admits of spontaneous life, or as he calls it "*spontaneous vital production*," and "*that these have been from the beginning in a perpetual state of improvement, which appears from the globe itself, as well as from the animals and vegetables which possess it.*" I say which (as he thus admits of spontaneous life) certainly *does contradict*, or at least greatly weakens his argument "*that God created all things which exist.*" This is something analogous to Saint Athanasius's creed of "*God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, yet there be not three Gods but one God,*" so Dr. Darwin admits of spontaneous life, and the power of nature to produce it, yet says, "*that God created all things which exist;*" however the temporising fears of the Doctor will not destroy his arguments, nor the truths he has elicited, (by his close observations of the operations of nature) respecting spontaneous life, to confirm which he adduces several "*experimental facts*" established by Buffon, Reaumur, Ellis, Ingenhouz; and others; but though they, and he, may have established the fact of spontaneous animalcular life; (which I think they as well as others have done,) the attempt to account for the origin of larger animals from the circumstance that "*all quadrupeds and mankind in their *embryon* state are aquatic animals,*" to suppose that "*the earth was originally covered with water,*" and that "*therefore it must be concluded, that animal life began beneath the sea*"—"that all vegetables and animals, arose from such a small beginning as a living point or a living fibre" to suppose that

" Thus the tall oak, the giant of the wood:
Which bears Britannia's thunders on the flood;
The whale unmeasured monster of the main;
The lordly lion, monarch of the plain;
The eagle soaring, in the realms of air,
Whose eye undazzled, drinks the solar glare;
Imperious man, who rules the bestial crowd,
Of language, reason, and reflection proud;
With brow erect; who scorns this earthy sod;
And styles himself, the image of his God:
Arose from rudiments of form and sense,
An *embryon* point, or microscopic ens?"

To suppose that these arose from the briny deep, (which Dar-

win supposes once covered the earth) to suppose that they improved during innumerable ages by production and reproduction; is also to suppose, that some great change must have taken place, in the elements, or in the positions of the planets or the earth; by which the water must have been deprived of its prolific properties, of spontaneously producing other animals, in like manner from the animalcule floating therein; if we can suppose, or if it should ever be established as a fact, that animals have thus progressed gradually to perfection, to magnitude and strength; that the elements of life, once engendered animals in the flood, that they became first amphibious, afterwards terrene and aerial, and that the elements once possessed more genial life-producing properties; we may expect, that in the progress of ages of bliss, (which succeed according to Mackay the ages of horror) the same general state of the elements may recur, that they may acquire the same properties of producing animals, and we may expect that animal life will be spontaneously produced, and all notions about an almighty designing creative power be put to rest—all these are but speculations, it must be confessed, that prove little more than the ingenuity of man; which the cool and reflecting philosopher will be very careful, do not mislead his judgment, or induce him to neglect that close observation of natural products, by which only he can establish any truth.

But though Materialists have not yet been able to prove the primary cause of the existence or origin of the *larger* animals, it does not follow that they are to despair of ever arriving at the great and mysterious secret; or that they are to jump at once, into the admission, of the existence of a supernatural almighty *designing* creative power or being; the existence of which, is as difficult or more difficult to be proved, as that of elementary matter possessing the property in some period of time, under some genial influence of the sun, of primarily producing animal life.

The circumstance of their having discovered some of the causes of the operations of nature ought to be an encouragement to mankind, steadily to pursue the arduous task, until nature unfold to the enquiring and observing minds, of scientific men, all her mighty powers of life and motion.

The inherent properties of matter, to produce animal life and the universe; the power which resides in elementary matter of carrying on, and of preserving her own productions, and the existence of an almighty designing power, the fabricator of all things, the cause of causes; being the points, at which Theologians and Theists seem to come to a stand still, in arguing upon the intricate subjects of supernatural or preternatural design, providence and God.

It may not be amiss to shew in a few words, the jet of the arguments which both sides make use of, in support of their opinions.

Theists and Theologians reasoning by analogy from their own powers of making, moulding, or manufacturing various works of art, though they acknowledge the properties and powers of nature in many things, to be extraordinary, stupendous and grand, they cannot or are not willing to allow, that by certain inherent principles and operations contained in the elements of nature, that matter, under certain positions of the planets and the earth, by numerous modifications of its various parts, during some portion of time; by certain influences of the atmosphere is, ever has been, or ever can be, of itself, by its own inherent properties, capable of producing animal life; therefore they believe that an almighty *designing* power, created all things; the Theologians pretending that a revelation has been made to certain human persons, favourites of their imaginary God, that such being *does* exist, and that he *did* create all things.

Materialists, on the contrary, admiring the extraordinary, stupendous and grand operations of nature, and from observation having got to learn, that the elements of matter in combination and by co-operative properties and powers, do produce effects of which mankind were formerly ignorant; and attributed to the handyworks of an angry, vindictive, and capricious God, moved like themselves by passion, to commit vengeful and cruel acts of violence; from knowing that mankind have passed many ages in gross mental darkness or ignorance, that during the ages of mental debility, they were extremely superstitious, and attributed all unknown causes, to the agency of divinities, demons, devils, angels, spirits, fairies, sprites, genii, witches, wizards, sorcerers, magicians, &c., &c.; and that they consulted priests and priestesses, prophets, seers, astrologers, soothsayers, sibyls, and oracles; to understand the fancied omens, portents, or meanings of natural effects and events, knowing that they were always grossly deceived, by the incantations, auguries, predictions, prophecies, dreams, visions, revelations, and preaching of men, who lived out of their credulity, and pretended to be the favourites and missionaries of God, knowing that much the largest portion of mankind, know little of science and the operations of nature, that they are still given to superstition, are still extremely credulous are still deluded by their priests and *spiritual pastors*, are still inclined to attribute all the operations of nature which they cannot comprehend, to the agency of some unknown occult power which they denominate, divinity, demon, angel, fiend, God or Devil; knowing that while they retain much of their superstitions, they have relinquished some of their absurd notions, about witches, wizards, fairies, sprites, genii, sibyls, sorcerers, &c. which they now condemn in common with Materialists, yet knowing the power which priests still retain over the minds of credulous, thoughtless, and ignorant persons, particularly knowing that if the deluded people would cease to pay the deluding priests, that the latter would cease to pray for and to deceive the

ignorant; knowing, the difficulty of overcoming or entirely eradicating from the mind first impressions, are more especially knowing the advantages to be derived from a cool, temperate, and unprejudiced examination into the operations of the elements; Materialists are willing, modestly to wait the result of a further investigation of the properties of matter; for the discovery of the causes of productions, which has hitherto escaped the vigilant observation of naturalists, men of science, and genius, in hopes, that, at some future period, mankind will become acquainted with the origin of animal life, and all the operations of nature, which they can turn to their interests comforts, and happiness.

As Materialists are able to account for many of the operations of nature and the spontaneous productions of animalcular animals, and as the Supernaturalists, Theologians and Theists, never have been able demonstratively and conclusively, or rationally to prove the existence of a supernatural, *designing*, almighty Creator of matter and of animal life; and as all the revelations that have been promulgated are too contradictory, inconsistent, and absurd, to be relied upon by men of deep reflection; they, the Materialists, hold, that the hypothesis, which is most consonant with the known laws of nature, with the science, observations, and with truth, or the reality of things: with human knowledge, experience and common sense, ought *cæteris paribus*, to be preferred? But as Materialists, modestly confess, that they have not yet arrived at the knowledge of the causes of the origin of the larger animals; and as Theologians presumptively and positively assert, that all things *were* originally created by an almighty *designing* power, the existence of which Materialists dispute or doubt they, consider, that certainly the *onus probandi* (the difficulty of proving) remains with the Theologians, not only of the existence of such a being, but of it having originally created a man and all the matter mankind behold, or that they can have any knowledge of; which Theologians can no more do without their revelations, which are all contradictory, than Materialists can do—as for the Theists, who reject all revelation they appear to me to be still more inconsistent than the Theologians—for in my opinion if a person once gives up his belief of revelations, there can be no resting place for him short of relying upon the all-powerful properties of nature.

Materialists, from comparison, science, and experience having synthetically arrived at rational conclusions, upon several of the operations of elementary matter, even in some instances without positive proof, or demonstration, they are justified in reasoning onward; and in persevering in their search, by close observation into the primary causes of animal life; but as Theologians have no notion, and can have no notion, of what their supernatural or preternatural almighty *designing* power is composed; they cannot have any just pretensions in saying: although we own that we can-

not demonstrate its existence by any thing comparable to it in nature; to any thing within the compass of the human mind to understand; and although the sacred books of the priests of all religions, in the revelations they make of the Almighty *Designer*, represent the being very differently; nevertheless, you may safely rely upon our assertion, that an almighty intelligent being does exist, and that it possesses a *designing* controuling power, not only over the operations of nature, but also over the mind, the passions, and the actions of every human being.

Persons of feeble intellects, ignorant, timid, or insolent, may implicitly assent, that such a being does exist, and contrary to their notions of perfection and goodness, does permit mankind to indulge the most violent passions and to commit acts the most atrocious, cruel, and oppressive towards each other: but no rational person, of a deep reflecting mind, desirous of arriving at the truth, will, in the present advanced state of science, resign his mind so blindly and readily to assertion, without proof or probability, especially in matters where so much inconsistency and contradiction of opinion prevails, amongst the advocates of revelation: and all deep thinking people will be the more cautious in the admission of the existence of supernatural or preternatural intelligent *designing* essences or agencies, from the experience mankind, or the wise part of mankind, have acquired, that visionary, deluded and fanatical men, or cunning, designing and fraudulent impostors, have in all ages, taken and do at present take advantage of the active or passive assent of credulous, superstitious, visionary, and weak, and of thoughtless and indolent minds, of intposing upon a simple world, creeds, doctrines, and ceremonies, destructive of the peace of the mind, of all the followers of dreamers, visionists, and mystery-mongers; destructive of the harmony of life, and injurious to the interests of all people, not living out of the religious deceptions and impositions which are practised by idle and fraudulent men, upon mankind; and the enlightened and liberal portion of mankind, from knowing the evil consequences, which have arisen in society in all ages, from the promulgation of false hypothesis, false creeds, and doctrines, knowing the persecuting, cruel, hypocritical and immoral effects, which have been produced from the broaching of error, upon heated and morbid minds, knowing the advantages wicked statesmen, kings, ministers, and nobles take of the credulity of mankind; knowing how the belief of supernatural agencies of a God and Devil, cowardizes the minds of weak and credulous people; how it disposes them passively to submit to the wrongs and crimes of states and cabinets, and how it indisposes them, to resist oppression, the truly enlightened friends of the people, will be desirous of overcoming their prejudices and superstitions; of forming a phalanx of bold and honest hearted men, equally desirous of improving the condition of all, and the spurious, and puritanic morality, which has ob-

tained an influence over the minds, and the sanction of many worthy and honest meaning people: and the friends of humanity and justice will be desirous of remoralizing mankind, upon principles congenial to their nature, and promotive of the ease, the comfort, harmony, wisdom, and happiness of society.

I had intended to have been more brief in expressing my opinions upon the subjects contained in I. G.'s letter, but being so important, I could not satisfy my mind with saying less than I have done; and shall trouble your readers with one more letter, chiefly upon the subject of mineral life, and the growth of worlds. With a desire of turning the minds of the people, to reflect upon the dignity of their nature, as the only reflecting and *designing* beings, they have any knowledge of, capable of using reflection and design, in the promotion of the moral happiness of their species.

I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

J. WATSON.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR,

Otley, June 28, 1823.

ON the first of this month, I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Carlile at Leeds, and of paying into her hands the amount of a small subscription made for you in this place, the particulars whereof I send you at the end of this letter for insertion in "The Republican." Considering you as a Leonidas in the Thermopylæ of Free Discussion, I think it is the duty of every honest man to contribute to your support in your single-handed combat with the armies of despotism. I fervently hope that your fate will not resemble that of the Spartan King: he lost his life in defending Greece; but let us anticipate a different result to your intrepid endeavours. I trust that we shall yet see you in the enjoyment of what you have been so long contending for—perfect liberty of speaking and writing on all subjects. What is the boasted liberty of conscience of England? The same as in the most despotic government. We are quite at liberty to think as we like, and Why? Because "the powers that be" have not yet invented a method of chaining the mind. Material as the mind is, it is yet of too subtle and refined a construction, to admit of the ordinary modes of manacling; but so long as the tongue and press could be controuled, "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" were prevented from circulating through an atmosphere of slavery, unless they were employed in enforcing the laws of an overgrown oligarchy, or supporting the superstition of a luxurious and pampered theocracy. 'Tis you, in the present day, that we have to

No. 6, Vol. VIII.

thank for boldly setting at defiance the infamous attempt to erect the will of a corrupt faction into a law, and to make it criminal to utter what self-constituted societies of placemen, pensioners, and expectants think proper to disapprove. Yet I think some sentiments in two late Republicans verge a little too much towards the system of expediency; a system which you have (with those exceptions) invariably condemned. You seem to think, that if you were in Spain now, it would be criminal in you to write as you do here. Now if what you write now in England be in unison with your thoughts (of which I have not the least doubt) I cannot perceive any criminality in your publishing those thoughts in the same way and manner as you do now. With reference to yourself as an individual, it might be imprudent, but not at all criminal. If you wrote at all in Spain, I do not see how you could possibly write materially otherwise, if you wrote honestly. You also talk about respecting prejudices and of endeavouring to undermine them. Those who have read Paine's fine metaphorical picture of that "spider of the mind" will be little inclined to respect prejudices, I imagine; though expediency, "the gutter hole of politics and the sink of reputation," may induce them to appear to respect them. If I am to understand by an endeavour to "undermine prejudices," an appearance of entertaining a sentiment, that I do not, for the sake of leading a prejudiced person gradually on to a coincidence with me in my real sentiments, I must say it is a conduct of which I entirely disapprove. This is expediency and hypocrisy combined, but most probably I misunderstand you, and I shall be glad to have my misapprehension corrected.

I read your Republican with very great pleasure, for the discussions occasionally inserted in it have become very interesting. When I read the commencement of Mr. Fitton's last letter, I was in hopes, that he was really about to give us a good argument on the origin of matter, but was sorely disappointed. He completely jumped over the very spot where all the difficulty lies. I happened lately to meet with a number of the "Gazette of Health," edited by Dr. Reece, and in an article headed "The Soul," in a very pains-taking endeavour to controvert the doctrine of Materialism, I found, amongst a mass of very profound silly reasoning, an argument that was new to me and deserving of physiological consideration. Dr. Reece says, that it is allowed, by all scientific men, that the whole animal frame is completely decomposed and undergoes an entire change in six years, and if so, "How," says the Doctor, "do Materialists account for memory, for a much longer period? How can the mind recall facts passed twenty, thirty, and forty years ago, since the brain that received the impression from the senses is no longer the same, nor any part of the same?" Perhaps some of your scientific friends can help me over this difficulty.

With this letter you will also receive my subscription towards enabling you to purchase Mr. Paine's unpublished MSS. from Madame Bonneville. I ardently wish to see the whole of whatever that "Noble of Nature" wrote. If it were possible, I should be extremely happy to see a few lines of that greatest of men's hand-writing, if it were only for a minute or two.

There is a work mentioned in Palmer's "Principles of Nature" page 109, as then preparing by him for the press; can you inform me whether there is any possibility of obtaining it in this country?

Wishing you and your fellow sufferers in the same glorious cause, health, happiness, and the speedy attainment of your desires,

I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

SQUIRE FARRAR.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Wilkinson	5	0	Miles Linton	2	6
S. Farrar	5	0	William Moody	1	0
T. Houseman	2	0	Sundry Subscriptions	4	6

TO MR. SQUIRE FARRAR, OTLEY,

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, August 9, 1823.

YOURS dated the 28th June did not reach me until the 8th instant, which I mention to free myself from all supposition of neglect.

I thank you and other friends of Otley for this subscription, and hope that you will have the returning satisfaction of being able to say hereafter: "*we were among those who saw that free discussion was worth all the sacrifice that could be made to obtain it.*"

I am never offended at having my faults pointed out; for it is almost impossible for me to guard against *all* in my writing; particularly, as I write under great disadvantages for the Press, never being able to correct an error of my own, and often getting errors imposed upon me which I never write. All my writing is off hand: never copied unless it be a letter sent on official business; and the quantity of correspondence to which I have to attend, often leaves me in a very jaded state. I am also a very swift or rather a hurried writer, which is a cause of errors frequently escaping me. Mr. Paine was a very slow writer, so slow, that he retained

in memory and could subsequently repeat almost every sentence that he had written, this I cannot do with a paragraph, I retain the substance and can detect an error in a moment that is imposed upon me, but I have not that capacious memory to retain the precise words, so as to be able to repeat them. There is another difference, and a *wide one*; Mr. Paine wrote only when his attention was called to a subject to write upon; he never wrote for a weekly publication, so as to have often to create subjects to write upon, for the purpose of filling up a certain space. In all such publications there must be more or less of nonsense and loose writing. The body is wearied by exertions of the mind, as well as by the exertions of the arms or legs; one proof of the materiality of the mind.

But you have taxed me rather too hard, on the ground of expediency. Where I spoke about "*humouring prejudices*" it was merely a recommendation to put other books into the hands of persons, as a beginning, who were deeply prejudiced against the name of Paine. To shew you the influence of names, I will relate a story, sent to me by a neighbour of yours, a Leeds Friend. He was lately in Sheffield, where he was well known, and in a Bookseller's Shop there. Speaking of the *forbidden fruit*, the Bookseller went out of the shop and brought back a copy of Benbow's edition of Lawrence's Lectures, offering it for sale at a reduced price. Your neighbour said it was not the best edition, as it was deficient of two Lectures that were in Carlile's edition, and asked if he had not one of Carlile's. The answer was: No, and that he, the Bookseller, would not keep a book in his shop with the name of Carlile upon it! Here you see the force of fear and prejudice. The contents of the book were nothing! and the publisher's name every thing! The priests not being able to answer any of those writings which oppose their craft, seek to check them by associating ideas of horror with the names of the writers and publishers. Never, never, did I, or do I, recommend dissimulation; for no man can detest it, in all its shapes, more than I do.

Again, on the Spanish business. When I first began to talk of going to Spain: several persons wrote to me to say, that the best of the Spaniards would be my enemies, if I was known to them as a Deist or Atheist. In answer to these observations, I put forth the expressions, you have quoted. Now, I do hold that it would be criminal in me, to go to Spain and begin to talk or write about Deism and Atheism at this moment. It would nerve the arm of the fanatic against the interests of his own country, and per-

haps paralyze the services of thousands who are now warm Constitutionalists. So far, I say it would be criminal. The *expedient* that is the result of fear and not of general utility, I despise, but that which is the result of general utility and not of fear, I respect. There is a wide difference in the state of knowledge between the people of this country and of Spain. What is good and useful here, may not be so there, as the relations on which the object depends are or may be different and must produce different results.

The same person, whom I have mentioned above, has also taxed me with another supposed contradiction, in having said in one place "*Country before Family and Friends*", and in another "*do good to my own family first and all other's after.*" Now, if the four sentences or paragraphs which have been noticed between you, had been fairly set forth upon paper no contradiction would have been found in them, nor in reference to any other part of what I have written. They have been supposed a contradiction by putting a construction upon them which is not warranted. In saying *country before family*, I meant, that I would not neglect that which was really a public duty from any family interest. In saying, that I would first do all the good I could for my own family, and for all others after, I merely expressed that which every man is morally bound to act upon: that I would not neglect to do any good *I could do* for my own family, under the pretence of doing good to others. The first is a general, the second more of a local application. I never like to preach disinterestedness. I hold that there is no such a thing as a disinterested man. Such a man would be a fool to himself and to all others. The man who does a good action, from a good motive, has the same satisfaction as he who does a thing for hire: the one from the love of doing good: the other from the love of gain. In endeavouring to avoid a pretence to disinterestedness, and the making of hollow pretensions, it appears, I have nearly fallen into error on the other side. I must beg of all my friends not to look for perfection from me: but to make the same allowance for faults in me that they would in other men. I promise to be careful but not perfect.

The question relating to mind, or as to how the memory is preserved, whilst the matter of the body is going through a constant change, is not a question easy to be answered: but though difficult to the Materialist, it is not a jot less difficult to the Immaterialist, or the soul worshipper.

Though the parts of the body go through constant

changes, any strong impression once made upon it is retained and becomes a part of the organization. That impression has the power of retaining its figure, though its parts are changed. The lineament is always the same allowing for slight variations, such as may be found in the memory: and it is known, that the old parts are never thrown off until the new are formed, the parts may increase or diminish as to bulk, as in corpulency or wasting; but still, the outline, the organization, is ever the same, and can only be altered by wounds or death. The same principle, the same cause which preserves the organization, I presume, will account for the preservation of the memory, if any one can tell what that is. I plead ignorance.

Set a lamp burning and continue to feed it with oil, it will burn until the powers of the wick are absolutely exhausted, the wick forms the organization, and form of the light, whilst the oil is the matter by which it is fed. The light appears always to be the same light to our senses, yet we know, by the wasting of the oil, that the light is not composed of the same matter for one second of time. Animal or vegetable life is a very similar thing, and is wholly an electrical or chemical process. The lamp of life is a most correct expression; and it may be supposed to be lit up in viviparous animals, at what is called the quickening in the womb, or at the mid-time of gestation. The body is the wick, the organization for the light; the food we consume, the oil to keep it burning. A want of oil, or an injury done to the wick puts it out, alike in the lamp, and in the vegetable, and in the animal. Animal life is as simple a matter to me as the burning of the candle which is now before me; and life, like fire, I take to be equally a principle of electricity. The time is not far distant when this matter will be clearly unfolded.

I acknowledge, that nothing here said accounts for that principle which we call memory; nor by what process it is recorded and retained upon the organization. I shall be glad to see the subject in more able hands; though I feel a sort of conviction, that it is a matter upon which no proof can be obtained. In relation to what we call mind, it is a *first cause*, about which we had better say nothing than quarrel for want of being able to instruct each other. Still, I am quite ready to attend to any talker about souls, if he thinks our ignorance upon the matter will avail him any thing. Instead of asking a question, the writer in the "Gazette of Health" should have made the most of his suggestion,

in the way of demonstration; and then I believe, we should have been upon equal ground; alike ignorant as to the cause and property of memory. I acknowledge, that there are and always will be limits to human knowledge: therefore, I know, that a confession of ignorance, at the proper points, is no confession of inferiority. Man is the first in knowledge of all animals known to him: therefore he cannot admit a superior upon any rational ground. I admit no superior. If a man exceeds me in one kind of knowledge, I dare say it will be found, that I exceed him in some other. I will at least try to emulate him in all.

If a sight of Mr. Paine's writing would be a gratification to you, you shall be gratified. I am about to send a piece to Manchester, to let an engraver take a *fac simile* of it, and after that it shall be sent to Leeds, and from Leeds to Otley. And, as far as ever it may be a gratification, I will consent to its travelling but not to its being kept by any one. The piece which I have, is his Letter to Camille Jordan, written on seven slips: a corner of one of them unfortunately broken, which left me to perfect that part by a supposition as to several words. I would rather see any piece of his writing than his bones.

This piece was written when he was about sixty years of age, and after his release from that terrible imprisonment under the power of Robespierre. I have reasons to think, that he was never a happy and cheerful man after the shock his constitution received on that occasion, and at that age. His prospects, as to a moral government in France, were blasted, and he was no longer the Thomas Paine of 76 and 92. I have heard that he wrote a good hand when younger: but my piece is a plain hand-writing for an old man.

My letter to William Carver will have told you all I know about the works of Elihu Palmer.

I am, Sir, gratefully yours,
R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR,

Nottingham, August 6, 1823.

HEREWITH you will receive £5. 11s. 6d., being the amount of subscriptions to the present moment, and as the books continue open I hope to have more to forward to you in a little time; but you must bear in mind that your friends here are desirous of having it understood, that no part of the money has been collected for the purpose of paying those most iniquitous fines imposed upon you by our state inquisitors, and that it is sent to add to the comforts jointly of you and your Sister.

I have sent you a copy of our resolutions at a meeting of your friends here in February last. You will perceive that the second resolve is rather qualified: it was thought by some that it would have the effect of extending our means of serving you; but I think it would have been as well left out. Have the goodness to acknowledge in "The Republican" the receipt of this, and give the names of the parties as at foot.

Waiting your liberation,

I remain, Sir, your most obedient, &c.

MOSES COLCLOUGH.

At a Meeting of the Friends of Liberty, held at the Newton's Head, Nottingham, February 4, 1823. Mr. Joshua Doubleday in the Chair.

Resolved, First:—That without freedom of thought, there can be no such thing as wisdom; and no such thing as public liberty without freedom of speech, which is the right of every man, as far as it does not injure or controul the right of another; and this is the only check it ought to know.

Secondly:—That although this meeting is composed of many persons who differ in religious opinions with Richard Carlile, yet they all agree, that free discussion is the best, and ought to be the only, support of religion and liberty.

Thirdly:—That this meeting views with the greatest indignation, the arbitrary power assumed by the executive Government of the country, of americing offenders against vague and indelible laws, in such sums as amount, virtually, to a perpetual imprisonment; the assumption of such power being inimical to the spirit and letter of the laws, and as dangerous an encroachment, as were the powers assumed by the Court of High Commission or the Star Chamber; Courts, which had their origin in the darkest periods of British history.

Fourthly:—That this meeting condemns the principle of raising subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the amount of fines imposed upon reformers, such practice placing in the hands of Government, the power of taxing the friends of liberty to an unlimited extent; it is however, the determination of this meeting, to support by subscriptions or otherwise, as far as lies in its power, such persons as may suffer from a conscientious discharge of their religious, moral, or political duties.

Fifthly :—That a Committee be formed for the purpose of raising a subscription in behalf of Richard Carlile, and for taking such other measures in his favour as they may deem necessary.

Mr. Doubleday having left the chair, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to him, for the readiness with which he took the chair, and for the attention which he gave to the duties of it.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Reading Room at the Sir				Jesse Wright, a true Deist	0	0	6
Isaac Newton's Head	2	0	0	R. J. Wright, a Deist	0	0	6
Ditto, at the Duke of York	1	0	0	Thomas Corer, a new Con-			
Mr. Benjamin Hind	1	0	0	vert	0	0	3
John Crosby	1	0	0	Mary Sale, an Enemy to			
Alfred Cox	0	5	0	all Priests, especially			
John Synniaed	0	3	6	to such brates as the			
Edward Sale, an Enemy to				Bishop of Clogher	0	0	3
Kingcraft and Priestcraft	0	0	6	Zedekiah Moore, an Ene-			
Sarah Sale, a Deist	0	0	3	my to Kingcraft and			
William Spray, Republi-				Priestcraft	0	0	3
can and Deist	0	0	6				

TO MR. MOSES COLCLOUGH, NOTTINGHAM.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, August 9, 1823.

As your resolutions have grown rather stale and inapplicable, I have made a slight abridgement, but not to affect either their sense or spirit. I have erased the word *true* before *religion*, because *true religion* is a non-descript—the philosopher's stone, a knowledge of which I know is more remote and unattainable than *Longitude* or *Perpetual Motion*. I have erased the word *constitutional* before *liberty*, because, no adjective can heighten the charms of liberty; and when I read the words *constitutional liberty* they seem to my eyes like the words *liberty in chains*.

I have omitted the word *subject* in the the third resolution; because, it is but another term for *slave*, and whilst we profess to struggle for liberty, we cannot consistently consent to call ourselves *subjects* or *slaves*. They alone are *subjects* or *slaves* who are content with *monarchical subjection and slavery*.

I look upon all such words as *a bending of the knee to Baal*, and though I have omitted them in copying the resolutions, you will perceive that I have left the sense exactly what you meant to resolve upon.

The last erasure is in the fifth resolution, where you resolve to form a committee for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature. I suppose the subject of *free discussion* was meant as the subject of petition; but I am heartily glad that you have not acted upon the resolution. Such a petition, on our part, would be merely asking forbearance from unjust oppression; and I am so far ambitious, as to desire to beat my tyrants upon higher ground than the asking of forbearance. To petition a tyrant to moderate his tyranny, may be the right of a subject; but the duty of the free-minded man, the "friend of liberty" is, to resist that tyranny: and my ambition urges me to a continued resistance whilst the tyranny continues: for by some means I have learnt, that nothing but resistance can produce a moderation or forbearance of tyranny.

The inhabitants of Nottingham will not be offended at these little explanations. There is enough of good spirit among them, I know to pursue the right road when they can get into it,

I heartily thank you for this additional support. I fully agree with what you say about the impropriety of defraying such fines as mine by subscriptions; and were I to consult my own inclination, or my own gratification, I would prefer imprisonment for life to any attempt to pay a shilling towards those fines. I look upon those fines as something worse than a highway robbery, or a house-breaking by professed thieves; therefore, I feel, that here also my duty is not to sanction them by any means, but to resist. I am sure that nothing would ever induce me to pay them, but as the lesser of two evils.

I will tell you exactly what I think of any further subscriptions for me. At present, I can do without any thing of the kind: and my business bids fair to give me sufficient support, by cutting all credits as short as possible: therefore, any further subscriptions to me under all my present prospects, must be considered a desire to strengthen my hands in the work in which they are employed.

I am, Citizen, yours respectfully,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

FELLOW CITIZEN,

Preston, May, 1823.

HAVING been deputed by a number of Republicans of this town to express their commiseration for your unmerited sufferings, and their unqualified abhorrence and contempt for the base oligarchy by whose means an illegal prosecution was instituted, and a cruel and vindictive sentence passed upon you; I have only to express the pleasure it affords me in obeying their request, agreeing as I do with every sentence you have published on theological or political subjects. However I may regret the personal injuries you have sustained, I cannot but feel highly gratified when I consider that your manly and inflexible perseverance may ultimately lead to the most beneficial results. Your unanswered and unanswerable arguments have completely annihilated the miserable sophistry of your persecutors, whose atrocious attempts to ruin you have ended in their everlasting infamy and disgrace. With truth for your guide, and reason for your argument, you have utterly confounded their base efforts. In the name of common sense, I wish to know, if what you have written be blasphemous, wicked, and false, why do not some of the Right Reverend Fathers in God confront you by argument, in your vain efforts to destroy their holy religion, as they style it, instead of visiting you with fine, imprisonment, and persecution? Let the lawn-sleeved gentry answer this question; for, until they do, all thinking men must view their conduct with feelings of disgust. And, however the base hirelings of the press may attempt to traduce and vilify your noble efforts to tear asunder the veil of ignorance and superstition, with which priestcraft has enveloped the minds of the enlightened, be assured, that, possessing the esteem and admiration of all who are unprejudiced and considerate, you may calmly look on and smile upon their despicable ribaldry.

It is with pleasure I enclose you the small sum of £1. 3s., being the amount of a subscription raised by the individuals to whom I have alluded. Hoping you will be pleased to accept of it as a trifle towards remunerating you for the enormous expences your relentless Christian persecutors have heaped upon you.

I am, fellow Citizen, with every sentiment of regard,

Yours sincerely,

JAMES HARRISON.

can be no such thing as liberty. The priest can only thrive upon your ignorance and subservience.

Next, you will learn, if you will only take the trouble to go on in self instruction, that all necessary matters of law and magistracy are very simple, and require but little if any of your property in the shape of taxation: and, know one thing, as a certainty, that the better the laws and more effectual the administration, the less the cost to support them. An *expensive* Government is a sure criterion of a bad Government.

If the majority of the scot and lot voters in your borough could only rightly understand these matters, they would never vote for such legislators as they have hitherto had among them. But no effectual good can be done, no real liberty obtained, until the electors emerge from their present ignorance.

Instead of talking about that horrid, that mischievous nonsense, called "*King and Constitution*," which your Candidate Mr. Hunt lately boasted of at Chester, his pride, and the object of his conscientious attachment; I would have you to understand what the words "*King and Constitution*" mean. If you can find that they define any thing good and wholesome in the form of Government to you the people, it will be vain for me to advise you not to support it, nor have I any such disposition; but I certainly would have you at your next election, to ask Mr. Hunt what he knows and means by the words "*King and Constitution*."

I know, that the words are the watch-words of our most bitter enemies, and when I attempt to analyse them, I can find no ingredients that are wholesome in the shape of law and magistracy to the people. I am sure, that, if the words did define any thing wholesome for the people, so many of our enemies, so many corrupt men, all the Pensioners, Sinecurists and Placemen would not be incessantly bawling "*King and Constitution*. They are words that mean in England just what "*the Immortal und Glorious Memory of King William*" mean in Ireland: the watch-words, the symbol of tyranny, corruption, oppression, and of bad laws worse administered.

There is no man in England, who makes a fuss about *King and Constitution*, but he is either a very ignorant or very corrupt man. How a man can call himself a Reformer, a Radical Reformer, and keep harping upon the words *King and Constitution*, I have yet to learn: but, I think, I know enough to say, *it cannot be honestly done*.

To praise a thing in one form, and to be trying to get rid of it in another, is at least one kind of an emblem of hypocrisy. Such are the sentiments of

RICHARD CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

London, July 19, 1823.

I HAVE often heard tell of *something* being behind the Throne, *greater* than the Throne itself. But till the day that the King was crowned, I never could form any idea what this *something greater* meant. I have frequently studied about these two words; but I could not come to any satisfactory conclusion. I did not know in what sense to take them, when used in this manner. They have no definite meaning. The noun *something* puzzled me; but at last, I put a definite meaning on it and on *greater* too. I defined them; and every body will understand my definition, which is LORDS ROGUISHNESS!! Great Roguishness committed by Lords! Yes: said I, this is the *real* definite meaning! We understand the noun *Roguishness*, in every sense, in which the most cunning writer may use it! And, this day, being the anniversary of the Coronation, brought the two words into my mind.

I was present when the King was crowned; but I did not go with the same intention that a great many did; I went to see how the people's money was squandered away. And I was afterwards very glad that I did go; for if I had not been there, I could not now tell you what that *something greater* meant. I will here define more particularly what I mean. But I am always afraid of taking up too much of your room; *therefore*, I will make short work of my definition. I will say nothing about the procession; but, just state, that, the moment I saw the King, I knew what that *something greater really* meant. I was satisfied that my definition was correct. And in order that I may describe it to you, I will begin at once, with what the King had about him.

He had on, a very large SUPERB GOWN that cost *twenty thousand guineas* (so the newspapers said) all this money came out of our labour. I think I have said enough already to satisfy you. I will however, go on a little farther! The Gown-tail or train appeared to be about six yards long, and four yards wide. This Tail was carried by six Lords, three on each side. Ah! Ah! Ah! said I, there they are! These Lords are the things behind the Throne. They are the *something greater* which has puzzled me so much! And they looked exactly like what they are, that is picaroons! I see them now in my mind's eye, and I always shall as long as I live. They always put the King in front, and call him the throne: and well they may

for, without him, they could have no excuse, no manner of claim to take the people's property from them, by horse-loads, in the way they do. But then, they take this money under a cloak of supporting the STATE, here they give us a new name. They do not call it Throne; that would be too bare-faced. No; they call it state; under which they pretend to include every thing to make us comfortable and happy.

When the King turned his head to look at his Train-Bearers, they looked quite mild, exactly like that Methodist Parson who last Sunday week, told three barefaced lies to his congregation. But when the Train-bearers turned their faces towards the people, towards those who had to pay all, they looked exceeding tyrannical, fierce, and as voracious as a tiger. Ah! they looked with a Lamb's eye at their master; and almost said, O! *you most noble, gracious, generous, condescending, heaven-born creature*, we will send our wives to-night. O! without you we could do nothing! We should not be able to take one penny of the people's money! We should be obliged to live honestly and virtuously during the remainder of our lives.

Those Lords who are not behind the Throne, for, mind, those who have no Boroughs are not there, are the greatest cowards, slaves and tyrants in existence. When they are with the king, or with any of his favourites, they dare not open their mouths; except it be to say, O! *May it please your most excellent Majesty to let me lick the dirt off your feet*. But, when they go into the country, when they go amongst the people, they shake a *Rod of Iron* over their backs; over those *Bees* who work and toil from morning till night, with bits of old sacks over their wings to support their lordly drones in splendour, debauchery and hoggish drunkenness. There they look like savages; and if any one of these bees should happen to be brought before one of these lordly drones, for stinging a hare to death, he threatens destruction to the bee, sends it to the tread-mill for three months at least.

Then, this Lordly Tyrant, to hood-wink his neighbours, says, with a voice as soft as down, to them, this man that I have just sent to the tread-mill, is a very bad man; he never attends church; he has not the fear of God before his eyes; and he is bringing a large family to the parish; and you all know how good I am to all the poor in the parish. I give away soup three times a week; aside, he says to himself, made from the bones that my dogs have been picking; this saves my tenants several pounds, indeed almost one rate, in the course of a year; and every Christmas, I give away Blankets, Petticoats, Coals, and every thing that my Lady and I can think of to make you all comfortable.

My good Sir, I have worked hard to day and I have written this since nine o'Clock to night. I am now almost asleep; but when I have time, I will make them howl for keeping you in Gaol.

Good night Sir, I am, your obedient servant,

JAMES HALL.

Further Subscriptions for MR. RICHARD CARLILE, collected by MR. CAWKWELL, Liverpool, July 22, 1823.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Mr. T. P.	10	0	A. M. Jones	2	6
Mr. T. Jones, 105, White-			A Friend	2	6
Chapel, whose greatest			Coals	2	0
pride is to be esteemed a			Mr. Crelling	2	6
Deist	5	0	Mr. Hilyard	3	0

The Title Page to the miniature edition of Paine's Theological Works is ready for delivery. Price Sixpence. The Parson should not have been in the fields without a hat, by right and custom; but in his hurry for his tithes he forgot his hat.

The Trial of William Tunbridge will find no more delay. Sheets 3 and 4 are ready for delivery.

Those who may think a set of "The Republican" worth having at half price are advised not to defer the purchase. Any odd volume but the first may be had at that price.